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The writing culture of ancient Dadān: A description and quantitative analysis of linguistic variation

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Chapter 6 - Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

6.1 Gender

Similar to other Semitic languages Dadanitic distinguishes masculine and feminine gender. Masculine nouns are generally unmarked. Feminine nouns can be marked with a suffix *-t*. This can mark biological gender: compare *'fkl* ‘priestess’ (U 038; JSLih 064) and *fkl* ‘priest’ (e.g. JSLih 049; JaL 010 a); *'ht* ‘sister’ (JSLih 077) and *'h* ‘brother’ (JSLih 077; U 064); *'tt* ‘wife’ (Al-‘Uḏayb 064; JSlih 067; U 023; U 115); *qnt* ‘female servant’ (AH 303; JSLih 282; JSlih 302). Many nouns are only morphologically feminine.

JSLih 049 *hw//dqw/h-ḡ//lm/s^llm/h-//[m]tlt/l-//dḡbt*
‘they dedicated the boy *s^llm* (as) **the substitute** to *dḡbt*’

U 069 *'zllw/h-zll/b-khl //b 'd/tbrt-hmy*
‘they performed the *zll* ceremony on behalf of their (du.) **grain**’

There are also nouns that are semantically feminine without the suffix *-t* (e.g. *'m* ‘mother’ (e.g. AH 217; JSLih 073; AH 197)).

The reflex of the feminine suffix is generally *-t* in all environments. Unlike in CAr., there does not seem to be a pausal form *-h*. In addition to this, Dadanitic does not seem have levelled the *-at* allomorph to all environments, unlike Arabic (Huehnergard 2017, 20). If the form *qrt* (e.g. AH 300 and JSLih 064) should indeed be interpreted as ‘village’ from the root QRY, it must have had the suffix *-t /qarīt/*, since the *-at* suffix would have yielded a form */qariyat/* similar to Arabic, in which case the glide would have most likely been represented in Dadanitic (see § 4.6.9 *-at* > *-ah*) (Al-Jallad 2018, 22).

6.2 Number

6.2.1 Pluralization strategies

There are two basic forms of plural formation in Dadanitic. Nouns can be made plural either by the addition of a suffix, traditionally called sound plurals, or by pattern replacement, called broken plurals.²¹² Similar to CAr., pattern replacement may include prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Forms combining a plural suffix with pattern replacement may not be distinguishable from the sound plurals, while some broken plurals, formed using only changes internal vocalization, may not be formally distinguishable from singular forms.

6.2.2 Plural and dual forms

There is evidence for both plural and dual nouns in Dadanitic (Macdonald 2008, 194). However, most of the dual forms are orthographically indistinguishable from sound plural forms. Therefore, the following section is organized based on the attested forms, rather than their function. First the unambiguously plural forms with pattern replacement will be discussed, followed by the more ambiguous dual and plural suffixes. For each suffix the different possible interpretations and their contexts will be given and discussed.

²¹² Even though broken plurals seem to be a shared retention between the languages that are sometimes grouped together as ‘South Semitic’ (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011, 263) their productivity in these languages can likely be explained as a contact phenomenon. Dadanitic fits nicely into this contact area between Arabic and South Arabian influences (the Minaic trading colony and its place on the incense trading route).

6.2.3 Bound and unbound forms

There is a distinction between bound and unbound dual (Macdonald 2008, 194)²¹³ and probably also plural forms. When a noun stands in construct with a following noun or is followed by an enclitic pronoun, the dual suffix is *-y*, whereas unbound nouns receive a dual suffix *-n* (see § 6.2.6 State). Compare CAr. *al-kitābāni* ‘the two books’ and *kitābā ṭ-ṭālibi* ‘the two books of the student’.

6.2.4 Pattern replacement

The following plural patterns have been attested in Dadanitic:

Table 40 Plural formation

'CCC	U 026	' <i>b l</i>	lords
	Al-'Uḏayb 071; Al-'Uḏayb 073	' <i>nhl</i> ²¹⁴	palm trees/palm groves
	Al-'Uḏayb 071 and Al-'Uḏayb 073	' <i>dt</i> '	crops of the season of the later rains
	JSLih 063	' <i>slm</i>	statues
	JSLih 177	' <i>n m</i>	livestock
'CC(C)t	U 050; U 032	' <i>zlt</i>	<i>zll</i> ceremonies
CCCt ²¹⁵	AH 032; AH 081	<i>bnt</i>	daughters
CChC	JSLih 177	<i>mnhh</i>	minah (coins)?
CC(C)w (in construct)	AH 001; JSLih 079; U 064; AH 197	<i>bnw</i>	sons of
	JSLih 079	' <i>hw-h</i>	his brothers

²¹³ Michael Macdonald (2008, 194) noted the distinction between *-n* in unbound and *-y* in bound forms, but was reluctant to see this as a general rule due to the limited amount of attestations at the time. I have found 19 examples of duals, 10 of which are in unbound position and have a suffix *-n* (AH 217; 216; 287; 197; JSLih 044; 045; 061; 082; Graf 1983 no. 2); 9 are in bound position and have a suffix *-y* (AH 200; 226; 241; 288; JSLih 072; 075; 077; 272; JaL 001).

²¹⁴ Note that the two examples of this plural form in the Dadanitic corpus are attested in two inscriptions that were written on a rock face right next to each other.

²¹⁵ If the interpretation of *s'lt* as ‘coins’ is correct (translation OCIANA) (JSLih177; Al-Ḥuraybah 09; JaL 001 (uncertain, broken context)), this would be another example of a *-t* plural.

6.2.5 Suffixes

6.2.5.1 Bound forms

6.2.5.1.1 -y

There are several bound forms with a suffix -y. While these forms are generally interpreted as dual forms, they could also be oblique plural forms (compare CAr. genitive unbound *muslimīna* ~ bound *muslimī* ‘the muslims of...’). In some cases a dual interpretation can be based on context (e.g. AH 200), but this is not always the case (e.g. JSLih 077).

AH 200 *mr`lh/w tmlh//bny/mṭr/bnyw//l-dḡbt*
‘*mr`lh* and *tmlh* **sons (du.)** of *mṭr* built for *dḡbt*’

JSLih 077 *wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/sʿlmm//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm*
‘and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered peace offerings (?) **on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb**’²¹⁶

Note that there is quite some variation in Dadanic regarding the use of the dual, and there is one inscription (JSLih 079) in which a plural form of ‘sons’ *bnw* follows two personal names (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation).

JSLih 079 *mrrh/w ḥṭrh/bnw//nṭr/`ḥḍw/h-qb//r/dh*
‘*mrrh* and *ḥṭrh* sons of *nṭr* took possession of this tomb’

6.2.5.1.2 Case

It seems that the oblique ending -y was levelled for all cases in most inscriptions (see § 6.2.7 Case). In AH 200 *bny* stands in construct with the following personal name, but it is the subject of the verb *bnyw* ‘they built’.²¹⁷

AH 200 *mr`lh/w tmlh//bny/mṭr/bnyw//l-dḡbt*
‘*mr`lh* and *tmlh* (the) **two sons** of *mṭr* built (pl.) for *dḡbt*’

The same suffix is used on nouns that are in the genitive case, as expected, for example following a preposition.

JSLih 077 *wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/sʿlmm//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm*²¹⁸
‘and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered peace offerings (?) **on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb**’²¹⁹

JSLih 075 *‘qrb/bn/mr`lh/h-ṣ//n/`d-ḡlh/`t/’//b`lf/b-ḥqwy/k//fr*
‘*qrb* son of *mr`lhn* the artisan of the lineage of *ḡlh* protected *b`lf* on **(two?) walls** of the cave/tomb’

There are no examples of dual nouns or plural nouns in the accusative case.

²¹⁶ J. Lundberg proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

²¹⁷ Macdonald compares this to the situation that can also be found in the early Arabic papyri and in the modern dialects where the dual suffix on nouns is always -*ēn* regardless of its grammatical case (Macdonald 2008, 194).

²¹⁸ Note the opposition between independent *sʿlmm* and *ḥqwy* in construct with the following noun.

²¹⁹ J. Lundberg proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

6.2.5.1.2.1 -h

There is one example of what seems to be a dual in the nominative case with a suffix *-h* /-ā/, which suggests that at least in the grammar of this inscription, the difference between the nominative and oblique dual endings was maintained.

Nasif 1988: *d/ms'yh/w bd/bnh/tm`l//`zlw/h-zll*²²⁰
99, pl. CLVIII ‘*d ms'yh* and *bd* **two sons** of *tm`l*, they performed the *zll* ceremony’

6.2.5.1.2.2 -w

The difference between bound and unbound duals suggests that we might find a similar pattern in the plural. There are not many examples of sound plurals, however, and only one clear example of a plural noun in construct position with a vocalic plural suffix (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 66).

JSLih 079 *mrrh/w htrh/bnw//ntr/`hdw/h-qb//r/dh/hm/w`hw-hm*²²¹
 ‘*mrrh* and *htrh* **sons (pl.)** of *ntr* took possession of this grave, they and their brothers’

We do not have any examples of *bn* in unbound position to contrast the form with, making it difficult to make any generalizations based on only this example.

6.2.5.1.3 -t

There are two possible examples of a feminine *-t* suffix, probably /-āt/ in the word *bnt* ‘daughters’ /banāt/. While this form is orthographically indistinguishable from its singular counterpart, the plural meaning is suggested by its context, although an interpretation in which only the patronym of one of the two people mentioned at the beginning of the inscription is given is not impossible in AH 302.

AH 032 *ydn w dwd/bnt/zd// gmhn/`zlw/zl[l] h-nq//b-khl*
 ‘*ydn* and *dwd* daughters of *zd gmhn* performed the *zll* of the *nq* at *khl*’

AH 081 *`ydh/w`mth{n}`ktb/bnt/qn//y/w`m-hm/s²n`h/w b`lhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-*
h/`mtyt`n/`zlw/b- kh//l/zll/h-nq/l-dgbt
 ‘*ydh* and *`mth{n}`ktb* daughters of *qny* and their mother *s²n`h* and *b`lhzd nm----*
//h and his daughter *`mtyt`n* performed the *zll* of the *nq* at *khl* for *dgbt*’

6.2.5.2 Unbound forms

6.2.5.2.1 -n

While it is clear in some cases whether a suffix *-n* represents a dual or a plural suffix, there are others in which the distinction is ambiguous. If the only difference between dual and plural outside of construct chains was the vowel (e.g. pl. /ūn/ vs. du. /ān/). This would not have been represented in Dadanitic orthography. For example in AH 197, *ymn* is clearly a dual, both from form and context, since the plural *`ym* (e.g. JSLih 068) is also attested. Moreover, the number of days mentioned in the dating formula is always specific.

²²⁰ The function of the *d* at the beginning of the inscription is not entirely clear. There are several other inscriptions that start with such an isolated *d* (about 13 (e.g. AH 147; AH 142; JSLih 284), and 3 that only consist of the letter *d* (JaL 014 b; JaL 124; JaL 142)). Some of these inscriptions (AH 147; JSLih 297; 284) both start and end with an isolated *d*, which suggests that they had a non-linguistic function. Macdonald suggests they may be apotropaic signs, possibly a reference to the deity Dūgābat (Macdonald 2008, 200). If the *d* does have a grammatical function here, *bnh* would be expected to have the genitive case instead of the nominative.

²²¹ *`hw-hm* should probably be interpreted as a broken plural /`aḥawā/ see § 4.2.2 Final -w.

AH 197 *s'nt/'s²r/wtlt/13ymn/hlf/t'n/d/----*
l' } } {b}/[t]lmy/bn/[l]d{n}/ml{k}/{l}{h}yn
 'year thirteen 13 two days after the t'n of.....l'b tlmy son of ldn king of Lihyān'

JSLih 068 *ilt/'ym/qbl//r'y/s¹lhn*
 'three days before the r'y of s¹lhn'

Other examples are less clear:

U 034 *'zll/h-zlln*
 He performed the **(two) zll ceremonies**'

JSLih 061 *'dq/l-l/h/{h}-šlmn*
 'he dedicated to Lh **the two statues**'

In U 034 *zlln* should most likely be interpreted as a dual, since we have attestations of a broken plural form *'zlt* (U 050; U 032), but this does not obviously follow from the context in this case. The same goes for *šlmn*: since the broken plural form *'šlm* (JSLih 063) is also attested (once), *šlmn* is probably a dual. However, it may also be interpreted as a diminutive form 'the small statue, or statuette'.

The form *mṭbrn* in JSLih 045 is also ambiguous. It was re-used and not found in its original context, therefore there is no archaeological context that could inform us further about the structure mentioned in the inscription (OCIANA record).²²²

JSLih 045 *bny/h-//kfr/l-h/w l-wrṭ-h/h-kfr/dh/kll-h//w 'hd/h-mṭbrn*
 'he built the tomb for him and his heir, all of this tomb, and he took possession of the **(two?) grave-chambers**'

6.2.6 State

6.2.6.1 Definite article

A definite article marks substantives as definite. Dadanitic has a definite article *hn-* in which the *-n-* generally assimilates to the following consonants, except before gutturals ' and ' .²²³

AH 032 *ydn w dmd/bnt/zd//ggḥn/'zlw/zl[l] h-nq//b-khl*
 'ydn and dmd daughter of zdggḥn performed the *zll* of **the nq** at *khl*'

U 058 *'yd/bn/yd' // 'zll/h-zll//{b-}khl*
 'yd/bn/yd' performed **the zll** at *khl*

JSLih 054 *h-mqdr/w hn-'nk/----*
 'the measure/decreed item and the 'nk'

Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: *----/h-mqdr/hn-'kbr*
26–36, no. 3 (line 3) 'the biggest decreed object'

²²² Accessed 10–3–2017 http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037791.html, now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>

²²³ See also (Sima 1999, 118; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65; Macdonald 2008, 208–9) who all comment on the variation between *h-* and *hn-* forms in Dadanitic.

Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: wasm *zddġbt //hn- 'fkl*
3–14, no. 1 'zddġbt the priest'

6.2.6.1.1 Variation of the definite article

There is one example in which the definite article does not assimilate to a following *q* (Sima 1999, 118; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65; Macdonald 2008, 208–9). Note, however, that the definite article is followed by a line break, which may have influenced its lack of assimilation,²²⁴ it is also possible that the end of the line is missing and *hn-* was followed by something else than *qbr* (Macdonald 2000, n. 94). In Safaitic there are examples in which the unassimilated definite article occurs before *h* (*hn-hwly* 'the Ḥwlyte' LP 87).²²⁵ In Dadanitic there are no clear examples of any nouns with an initial *h* preceded by the definite article.

JSLih 081 *l-ntnb 'l //bn/wny/hn//qbr/dh*
'this grave belongs to *ntnb 'l*'

Generally the definite article does assimilate to following *q*:

JSLih 312 *s²kr/bn //hs²s²/h-qbr//dh/*
'this grave belongs to *s²kr* son of *hs²s²*'

JSLih 064 *h-qrt*
'the village'

There are several attestations of other forms of the definite article. There might be an attestation of a *hl-* definite article.

JaL 021f *f'ln bn 'l 'h_d hl-btt*
'*f'ln* son of 'l took this section (of the rock?)'

Note that *hl-* seems to have a stronger demonstrative force in this inscription than the definite article in other inscriptions.

There are several attestations of what seems to be an assimilated 'l- definite article (D. H. Müller 1889, 14; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65).

JSLih 276 *f 'rr/dġbt/ 'rr/'-s¹fr/dh*
'so may *dġbt* dishonor whoever dishonors this inscription'

AH 119 *'zlt 'zll dh*
'she performed this *zll* ceremony'

Compare also:

AH 074 *'m/bnt/bs² 'zlt 'zll*
'*m* daughter of *bs²* performed the *zll* ceremony'

AH 138 *'gw 'zll l-dġbt*
'he performed the *zll* ceremony for *dġbt*'²²⁶

²²⁴ Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.

²²⁵ For a discussion of the *hn*-article in Safaitic see Al-Jallad (2015, 76).

²²⁶ The form 'zll in AH 074 and 138 is often interpreted as a broken plural (Sima 1999, 40 and 46), but when compared to the other examples of 'zll and the standard formula, in which the *zll* ceremony that is mentioned as a nominal form is

JSLih 065 *ḥtl/bn/dmn//ḥd/ḥsfht*²²⁷
 ‘ḥtl son of dmn took possession of the rockface’

U 115 *ḡw//w /ḥ- ḥll/- dḡbt*²²⁸
 ‘they dedicated the ḥll ceremony to dḡbt’

So far there is one example of the unassimilated *ḥl-* article, preceding a *ḥ*.

Ġabal Al-Ḥuraymāt 4 *ḥl- ḥsḥd*
 ‘the lion’

6.2.6.1.2 Personal names

Several different forms of the definite article can be found in the Dadanitic onomasticon, these most likely reflect the usage of the definite article of their source language.

JaL 052 c *hlhyt* possibly a *hl-* definite article

AH 197 *hn ḥ- ḥzy* assimilated definite article before guttural

JSLih 344 *h- ḥwsḥt* unclear whether it represents /awsḥat/ or /uwaysḥat/

6.2.7 Case

So far there may be one attestation of differentiation in the dual between the nominative *-h* (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII) and oblique case *-y* (compare AH 200 and JSLih 077), but this seems to be an exception. Generally the ending *-y* is levelled for all bound forms of the dual (see § 6.2.5.1 Bound forms).

6.2.7.1 Indefinite accusative

Since Dadanitic represented *-ā* with a *mater lectionis -h* (see § 4.2.1 Final *-h*), a pausal indefinite accusative *-ā* would be visible in the orthography. Unfortunately the environment in which such a form would be expected is rare in the inscriptions. JSLih 077 might be such an example, but only if we interpret the *h* as the enclitic pronoun and not as the definite article. If *ḥlm* is indeed an indefinite noun, it seems that Dadanitic did not have a pausal indefinite accusative *-ā*.

JSLih 077 *ḥmm/b-bt-h ḥ{l}m*
 ‘he dedicated a statue at his temple’

6.3 Noun formation

6.3.1 Prefix *m-*

6.3.1.1 Nouns of place

The prefix *m-* can be used to form nouns of place as in other Semitic languages. The maCCaC patter can be augmented with a suffix *-t*, which seems to be lexically determined.

always definite, this should probably also be read as a form with an assimilated *ḥ(l)-* definite article. A clear example of a broken plural form of *ḥll* is attested in U 050 and U 032 *ḥll ḥzlt* ‘three *ḥll* ceremonies’ (see § 6.2.4 Pattern replacement).

²²⁷ Compare JSLih 066 *h-sfht ḡh* ‘he took this (section of) cliff’.

²²⁸ In the transcription in OCIANA there is no word divider following the last *w* of the plural verb *ḡww*, but it is visible in the photograph.

6.3.1.2 Instrumental nouns

There seems to be one example of the use of *m-* to form an instrumental noun: *mgmrt* ‘incense burner’, compare: CAr. *mijmarah* ‘a vessel for fumigation, a vessel in which live coals are put with incense’ (*Lane*, 454 ab).

6.3.1.2.1 I-weak roots

The first radical of initial *w-* and *y-* roots is not represented orthographically. It is unclear whether the first syllable contained a diphthong or a vowel, as both would not be represented in this position in the Dadanitic script (see parap. 4.5 Diphthongs).

6.3.1.2.2 II-weak roots

The second radical of middle weak verbs is not represented orthographically and was probably realized as a long vowel maCv̄C.

6.3.1.2.3 III-weak roots

The final radical of final weak roots is represented. It is not clear, however, whether the final glide represents a consonant or a vowel (see § 4.2.2 Final *-w* and 4.2.3 Final *-y*).

Table 41 Noun formation

maCCvC	<i>mqbr</i> (JSLih 306)	tomb, burial place	√QBR ‘to bury’
	<i>mq’d</i> (JSLih 072; JaL 161)	sitting place, throne	√Q‘D ‘to sit down’
	<i>mrbd</i> (AH 073)	meadow	√RBD ‘to grant grazing rights’
	<i>mqdr</i>	decreed object	√QDR ‘He (God) distributed, divided; appointed (as though by measure)’
ma(C)CvC (I-weak)	<i>mm’</i> (JSLih 070)	oath	√WM’ ‘to swear’ (Aram.)
	<i>mtb</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 055)	sitting place, throne	√WTB ‘to sit, to sit down’
maCv̄C (II-weak)	<i>mkn</i> (JSLih 072)	place	√KWN ‘to be’
maCCvC (III-weak)	<i>mḥrw</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209)	incense burner	√ḤRW ‘to burn (with anger)’
	<i>mḥry</i> (AH 288)		
maCCvCt	<i>mgmrt</i> (Private collection 2)	incense burner	√GMR CAr. <i>jamrah</i> ‘live or burning coal’

6.3.2 Elative

The masculine form of the elative is formed with the 'vCCvC pattern.²²⁹

<i>h-mqdr/hn-`kbr</i> (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3: 2)	the biggest	√KBR 'to be or become big'
<i>h-gbl/hn-`ly</i> (JSLih 072: 6)	the upper border	√'LY 'to be or become high'
<i>h-gbl hn-`s'fl</i> (JSLih 072:7)	the lower border	√S'FL 'to be or become low'

6.3.2.1 Theophoric names

This pattern is also attested in the theophoric name *hn-`ktb*, which is attested once in reference to a deity, but most commonly occurs as the theophoric element in personal names.

JSLih 037 ----{t}----//h-mh//r w l-//{h}n`ktb/f//rdy-hmy//----
'... the incense burner to {*hn`ktb*} so may he favor them both'

zdh n`ktb (JSLih 078; JSLih 358)

grmhn`ktb (JSLih 290)

`mthn`ktb (AH 078; AH 081)

The feminine form of the element CvCCy is only attested in the female form of this theonym *h-ktby*.

JSLih 055 ----y wkl/h{g}s'n/'fkl/hktby
'... *wkl hgs'n* priest of *hktby*'

6.3.3 Suffix -n

The usage of a suffix *-n* for nominal derivation seems to be lexically determined.

Table 42 nouns with -n

<i>bnyn</i> (Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: 15–26, no. 2)	building	√BNY 'to build'
<i>s'lmn</i> (JSLih 073; 077)	security(?)	√S'LM 'to be or become safe'

6.3.4 Suffix -t

The suffix *-t* can be used to form abstract nouns and singulatives²³⁰ and to form verbal nouns. In some examples its usage seems lexically determined.

Table 43 Independent lexical items

<i>mtlt</i> (JSLih 049; Al-Ḥuraybah 14)	substitute
<i>s²'t</i> (AH 227; JSLih 072; JaL 161a; AH 198)	party, group

²²⁹ In addition to these examples there is one inscription containing the form *hn-`lm* 'the brightest' (Qaṣr al-Šāni' 6) *PN hn-`lm //PN hn-`lm*. It is unclear, however, whether this should be interpreted as a title or a personal name.

²³⁰ U 013 *'zlt hzlt* may be interpreted as a singulative 'she performed the (one) *zll* ceremony', but other interpretations are also possible. It could be dittography, or may have been intended as a broken plural *'zlt*, with omission of the ' (see § 4.6.11 Loss of intervocalic ').

Table 44 Abstract nouns

<i>ḥrt</i> (e.g. U 058; AH 100)	posterity
<i>brʾt</i> (JSLih 057)	health?
<i>brḥt</i> (JSLih 041)	honor?
<i>sʾrqt</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 17)	theft, stolen goods
<i>sʾhdt</i> (JSLih 052)	witness?

Table 45 Singulative

<i>qdsʾt</i> (JSLih 063)	sacred offering
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Table 46 Verbal noun

<i>ḥgt</i> (AH 206; AH 226; AH 239; AH 219)	pilgrimage
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6.3.5 Gentilic suffix -y

Gentilic adjectives can be formed by adding a suffix *-y*. There are no attestations of feminine forms.²³¹

AH 334	<i>zd h-ḥmrny</i>	‘ <i>zd</i> the <i>ḥrmn</i> -ite’
AH 325	<i>msʾkt h-ṯm//dy nṯr</i>	‘ <i>msʾkt</i> the Thamudite guarded’

6.4 Demonstrative pronoun

Dadanitic has a *d*-based demonstrative; masculine *ḏh* and feminine *ḏt*. The demonstrative always occurs post nominally.

6.4.1 Masculine

U 038	<i>h-zll/ḏh</i>	‘this <i>zll</i> ceremony’
AH 213	<i>h-sʾfr/ḏh</i>	‘this inscription’
JSLih 072	<i>h-mq d/ḏh</i>	‘the seat/throne’

Note that the inscriptions with a ʾ - definite article use the same demonstrative.

JSLih 276	<i>f ʾrr/ḏḡbt/ ʾrr/ʾsfr/ḏh</i>	‘so may <i>ḏḡbt</i> dishonor whoever dishonors this inscription’
AH 119	<i>ʾzlt ʾzll ḏh</i>	‘she performed this <i>zll</i> ceremony’

6.4.1.1 Variation

Farès-Drappeau (2005, 66) notes that *d* can also function as a demonstrative, based on JSLih 071 *hl-mfl d//* (which she read as *hl-gbl d*) (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 162) and JSLih 306 *ḥd h-mqbr d* ‘he took

²³¹ See § 4.2.3.2 Gentilic suffix *-y* for a discussion on the relevance of gentilic *-y* for the possible interpretation of *-y* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ī*.

this tomb' (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 183). The reading of JSLih 071 is quite uncertain, the *d* is the last letter of the line, and it is unclear on the photograph of the squeeze whether anything followed. JSLih 306 is indeed clearly missing the *h* on the demonstrative. This seems to be our only clear example, however, and only a copy is available of the inscription.²³²

There are two inscriptions that might contain a demonstrative with a deictic particle *h-* prefixed, similar to the possible dual/plural form attested in JSLih 082 (see § 6.4.3 Plural demonstrative below). Both inscriptions seem to be incomplete, however, making it difficult to say anything about the agreement of these forms (whether they are singular or plural, masculine or feminine).

JSLih 083 *gs²ms¹ ----//mn/hd^h ----//'bhm/hrh^hd^gbt*
 'gs²ms¹... {from those}...their father hrh^hd^gbt'

The word might be incomplete, since the end of the line before it and of this line are both missing. It is impossible to tell what it would refer to.

Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17 *{h}{d}/l-d//g^hbt/f//rdy-h//w ----// [----]*
 '{this} for d^gbt may he favor him and....'

Grimme (1937, 303) mentions that it is difficult to tell whether the top of the inscription is complete. This is also suggested by Müller's translation, which starts with dots (D. H. Müller 1889, 69), however, none of the previous editors seem to take the possibility that this may influence the interpretation seriously. On the photograph, however, there seems to be more inscribed above the first fully visible line. This makes the reading of what is now taken as the first line of the inscription even more uncertain, since it is impossible to tell whether it is a continuation of a word in the line above it.

If these forms should be interpreted as demonstrative pronouns, it seems that demonstratives could be modified by a deictic particle *h-* when they were used predicatively.²³³

6.4.2 Feminine

JSLih 066 *h-šfht dt*
 'this cliff'

JSLih 313 *h-ṭrt dt*
 'this mountain'

6.4.3 Plural demonstrative

There may be one inscription in which a demonstrative refers back to a dual noun (Winnett and Reed 1970, 125; Jamme 1974, 108–9). It is unclear, however, whether *šlmn* should be interpreted as a dual or a diminutive form.

JSLih 082 *h-{š}lmn/hd^h//[n]*
 'these two statues/ this statuette'

Farès-Drappeau refuses to identify this form because the inscription is too damaged to verify the reading according to her (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66). While she is right that the reading of the *n* on the

²³² In addition to this she also posits the use of the "Aramaic demonstrative *d*" (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66) in Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17. While the photograph is not very clear and the inscription seems somewhat damaged, the first two visible letters in the photograph seem to read *hd* and clearly not *d*'.

²³³ Compare CAR. masc. S/PL *hāda/hā'ulā'i*; fem S/PL *hādihī/hā'ulā'i*, which uses a suppletive stem to form the plural, but consistently forms its demonstratives with a prefix *h-*.

second line cannot be verified from the photograph and barely from the copy, from the shape of the rock it seems that there was no space for more than one letter before the word divider and the following word on the second line. This makes it fairly certain that this form should be interpreted as a demonstrative and not as the beginning of a longer phrase or word that is not lost.

If this reading is correct, this would be an example of the attributive use of the demonstrative with the deictic *h-* prefix.

6.5 Relative pronoun

The relative pronoun distinguishes masculine *d* and feminine *dt*. When the masculine form is used as a relative, it is prefixed to the noun it modifies. The most common usage of the relative pronoun is to indicate lineage affiliation. There are no attestations of plural forms of the relative pronoun.

6.5.1 *d*V

6.5.1.1 Masculine

The lineage affiliations of men are indicated using *d*.

AH 001 *bn[w]d/w whb`m/w` //wd/w lb`n/bnw //s`d`l/d yf`n*
 ‘*bn[w]d* and *whb`m* and ‘*wd* and *lb`n* sons of *s`d`l* of the lineage of *yf`n*’

AH 157 *w`l //zdħmm/d bs`n*
 ‘*w`l zdħmm* of the family of *bs`n*’

The relative *d* is also commonly found in the phrase *d-kn l-h* ‘that which was his’ (‘that which belonged to him’) (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66).²³⁴

U 050 *s`my/bn/tlġl//`zll/l-dġbt/tl//tt`zlt/`ly-/{d-}kn/{l-}h/b-bdr*
 ‘*s`my* son of *tlġl* performed three *zll* ceremonies for *dġbt* on behalf of **that which was his** at *bdr*’

U 108 *{b}rd/s`lm//dġbt/`z//ll/l-dġbt//b-khl/b`d//d- kn/l-h/b-y// r*
 ‘*brd s`lmdġbt* performed the *zll* for *dġbt* at *khl* in behalf of **that which was his** at *yr*’

AH 142 ‘*zll// l/l-dġbt/b-khl/b`d d//l-h/b-bdr/*
 ‘he performed the *zll* for *dġbt* at *khl* on behalf of **that which is his** at *bdr*’

6.5.1.2 Feminine

The feminine relative pronoun *dt* is attested once to mark the lineage affiliation of a woman. The feminine relative *dt* is formally indistinguishable from the feminine demonstrative.

U 126 ‘*ydh/dt/šd/`gt//l-dġbt/h-zll*
 ‘*ydh* of the lineage of *šd* dedicated to *dġbt* the *zll*’

There are also several inscriptions in which a woman’s name is followed by *d* and a lineage affiliation (e.g. U 006; 068; 112).²³⁵ In these cases it seems likely that the lineage affiliation given is that of the father.

²³⁴ There are several common alternatives to this phrase: *m kn l-h* ‘that which was his’ (e.g. U 059, AH 125); *ml/kn/l-h* ‘the property that was his’ (e.g. AH 120) or (*b`d/`ly*) *ml-h* ‘on behalf of his property’ (e.g. U 071; U 048; U 036). Note that all expressions with *ml* ‘property’ occur in the al-‘Udayb area.

²³⁵ I would like to thank Michael Macdonald for pointing out these examples to me.

U 006 (1-3) *mr'h/bnt/wd'lh//d-wtmt/'zlt/h- zll/l/l- dgbt*
 'mr'h/bnt/wd'lh of the lineage of *wtmt* performed (fem.) the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt*'

6.5.1.3 Variation

There is one inscription in which the relative *'lt* occurs (compare CAR. *allatī*) in JSLih 384 (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 67).

JSLih 384 *nfs¹/'bds'mn/bn//zdhrg/'lt/bnh//s¹lmh/bnt/{'}s¹//rs²n/*
 'funerary monument of *'bds'mn* son of *zdhrg* which *s¹lmh* daughter of *{'}s¹'rs²n* built'

This short inscription seems to be linguistically different from the other Dadanitic inscriptions on several points, however (see § 5.1.2 3FS), and should probably be considered to be an Arabic inscription in Dadanitic script (Macdonald 2000, 49).²³⁶

6.6 *hmq*

The anaphoric pronoun *hmq* is most commonly used in the phrase *hmq ndr* 'that which he vowed'. It seems to be a compound with the relative *d* and may be compared to Ugaritic *hnd*,²³⁷ which has been suggested to be a compound of the particles **/han + na + dū/* 'this' (Pardee 2011, 464). Sima (1999, 115) proposed to parse it as deictic element *h-* + particle *-m-* + relative *-d*. Jaussen and Savignac (1909, 436–37) compare *hmq* to CAR. *hamma alladī* 'this intention, design' and the CAR. construction *hasba mā* 'according to'.

AH 244 *'zllw/h-zll/b-//h-mšd/l-dgbt/hm-d/ndr/hnf']//s¹/*
 'they dedicated the *zll* ceremony at the temple to *dgbt* **which *hn*'s¹ vowed**'

AH 013 *'//zlt/h-zll/l-dgbt/b-k//hl/hm-d/ndrt*
 'she dedicated the *zll* to *dgbt* at *khl* **which she vowed**'

6.7 *mh*

The indefinite pronoun *mh* is only attested as a relative. When it appears independently it is written with *-h*, but in proclitic position the *h* is not represented (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 67) (see § 4.2.1 Final *-h* for the implications this has for its pronunciation).

JSLih 064 *b'ls'mn/'hrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr't//l-bhny/hn-'fkl//d*
 'b'ls'mn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it *d*'²³⁸

JSLih 077 *whblh/bn/zdqny/w lmy/bn//nfyh/wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h}//h^d/l-hmy/hrg*
 'whblh son of *zdaqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* set up the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* according to **that which** he took upon them by lawsuit'²³⁹

²³⁶ Müller (1982, 32–33) already classified this inscription as Old Arabic, based on the form of the relative pronoun. He considered the verb to reflect the 3rd person singular masculine form, however, with the final *-h* reflecting *-ā*, after the collapse of the final triphthong (followed by Macdonald 2000, 50).

²³⁷ This connection was suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad in his 2015 talk 'more reflections on the linguistic map of Ancient Arabia' in Helsinki. Slides are available on academia.edu.

²³⁸ This inscription was translated during a reading session at the LeiCenSAA. Hekmat Dirbas first suggested the meaning 'to conjure a protective spell' from the root *rqy*.

²³⁹ This translation was made during a reading session at the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 ----{m}n/s¹rq/f-³n/yṣbr/b-mh/s¹r[q]---- //
 ‘and if he is caught **with what** he stole’

U 059 ³ly/m-kn/l-h
 ‘on behalf of **that which** was his’

6.8 mn

The indefinite relative *mn* occurs most frequently in curse formulae and once in an inscription that seems to be a legal text, but which is heavily damaged.

AH 289 f-mn y³rrh//y³rh n³m//ḏḡbt/w-ṭhln
 ‘and may **whoever** mistreats it be stripped of property, *ḏḡbt* and *ṭhln*’

Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29 [----]//[m][l]k/lhyn/f-³rr/h----//‘{ }mn/³rr/h- kfr/ḏh
 ‘king of Liḥyān so may he dishonor... **the one who** mistreats this tomb’

JSTham 251.3 {w-}mn y³rr³ ḏḡbt ṭ{h}{l}r
 ‘**whoever** mistreats [it] may ḏḡbt disgrace [him] ???’

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 [----]//f/mn----//----l-ddn/l-³bd/----//----rs/mn/srqt/³ym----//----{m}n/srq/f-
³n/yṣbr/b-mh/sr[q]----//----{d}n/thḏ-h/kl-h/f ḥtm ----//----hsrqt/yṭb/h-s¹rq/³w/y --
 --//----bh
 ‘.....to/for Dadān forever.....from theft days.....**who stole(?)** and if he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat him(?) ...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...’

6.9 Personal pronouns

Most of the personal pronouns that are attested in Dadanitic are in the enclitic form. Not all forms of the independent pronouns have been attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions.

6.9.1 Independent personal pronouns

Only the first person singular ³n, third person singular and plural masculine h³ and hm, respectively, are attested.²⁴⁰

Table 47 personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	³ n	NA
2	NA	NA
3	h ³	hm

JSLih 347 lbbt/hbb //w³n/n³mn/bn/mn³m
 ‘lbbt ḥbb and I am n³mn son of mn³m’²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ The existence of the first person singular and the third person masculine plural personal pronouns has already been noted (e.g. Macdonald 2008, 197; Farès-Drapeau 2005, 68).

²⁴¹ These may be two separate inscriptions.

Ğabal Itlib 06 *'n/m 't // 's²r s^l{t}*
 'I am *m 't* companion/kinsman of *s^l{t}*'

JaL 166e *'n rfs^l 'l*
 'I am *rfs^l 'l*'

If JSLih 347 should indeed be read as two separate inscriptions, it seems that all examples of *'n* can be interpreted as a kind of introductory particle, announcing the start of the inscription.²⁴² This is very different from the rest of the Dadanic inscriptions which generally do not have any introductory particle.

There are two inscriptions which use third person singular masculine independent personal pronoun anaphorically: AH 288 (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66) and JSLih 078 (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 67–68).²⁴³

AH 288 *w 'l 'bd/s^lrmr 'h 'nšb/----//h/[l-] 'trğth/qbl 'ns^l/----//blhh/w hwdq/l-h/h-mħry----*
//ħgr/f rdyt-h/w 'ħrt-h ----// 'rr/dğbt/w h ' 'ħrt ----// 'rr-h
 'w 'l, servant of *s^lrmr*', **he** set up the cult stone... [for] Atargatis before PN ...and he offered to her the incense burner... to *ħgr* so may she favor him and his posterity... may *dğbt* dishonor and his posterity [too]...[who] mistreats it '²⁴⁴

JSLih 078 *zdhn 'ktb //wd 'bny/b//r 'h-mtbr/ 'l-h/h 'h*
 'zdhn 'ktb wd ' built the facade of the grave chamber and it is **his**²⁴⁵

6.9.2 Clitic pronouns

Due to the composition of the inscriptions the only attested enclitic pronouns are 3rd person forms. Orthographically there is no difference between the 3SF and 3SM forms. There is one inscription with two women as its dedicants (AH 032), but this does not contain an enclitic pronoun and the verb has the regular plural suffix *-w*. Since the difference between masculine and feminine enclitic pronouns is not made in the orthography in the singular and not attested for the other forms, it will not be represented in the table below.

Table 48 Clitic pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	NA	NA	NA
2	NA	NA	NA
3	<i>-h</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	<i>-hm</i>

²⁴² Compare the use of *'n* at the beginning of two Taymanitic inscriptions Esk 169 and 177.

²⁴³ Note that this usage of the personal pronouns is not productive anymore in Arabic (Al-Jallad 2015, 12).

²⁴⁴ This translation is largely following the translation proposed by Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 61), except for the plural interpretation of the word *mħry*, which I would consider a singular (see Appendix - Glossary), and the reading of the first word of the third line.

²⁴⁵ This inscription was read during one of the reading sessions in the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia. Johan Lundberg suggested comparing *br*' to OffAr *br*' 'outside' (CAL, accessed 13–3–2017) which led to the translation 'façade'.

6.9.2.1 -hmy

The dual enclitic personal pronoun *-hmy* should probably be vocalized as /humay/ or /humē/ in analogy with the bound dual suffix *-y* which seems to have been levelled to all cases in most inscriptions (see § 6.2.5.1 Bound forms).

6.9.2.2 Function

Clitic pronouns can be used to both indicate possession on nouns, and direct or indirect objects on verbs and prepositions.

U 037 *ʿrs²/bn//zdlh/w//bn-h/gffh*
‘*rs²* son of *zdlh* and **his** son *gffh*’

JSlih 072 *ʿhdw/h-mkn//w-h-mqʿd/dh/kll-h*
‘they took the place and this sitting place, all of **it**²⁴⁶’

U 056 *ʿmtb ʿsʿmn bnt//---hyt ʿzllt l-//dgbt b-{k}hl bʿd//{d}tʿ-h/f rd-h*
‘*mtb ʿsʿmn* daughter of ... *hyt* performed the *zll* for *dgbt* at *khl* on behalf of **her** crops of the season of the later rains so may he favor **her**’

U 050 *sʿmy/bn/tlgl//ʿzll/l-dgbt/tl//tt/ʿzlt/ʿly-/{d-}kn//{l-}h/b-bdr/f r{d}-h/w {sʿ} //d-h*
‘*sʿmy* son of *tlgl* performed three *zll* ceremonies for *dgbt* on behalf of what is **his** at *bdr* so may he favor **him** and aid **him**’

AH 001 *bn[w]d/w whb ʿm/w- ʿ//wd/w-lb ʿn/bnw//sʿ dʿl/d-yfʿn/ʿz//llw/zll/h-nq/l-//dgbt/f-rd-hm*
‘*bn[w]d* and *whb ʿm* and ʿ *wd* and *lb ʿn* sons of *sʿ dʿl* of the lineage of *yfʿn* performed the *zll* of the *nq* for *dgbt* so may he favor **them**’

AH 199 *sʿmwh/bnt/sʿmr/sʿlht/w//d/w zyd/b l-h/d- yfʿn// ʿzllh/l-dgbt/h-zll/b-hms//d/f rd-hmy/w sʿ d-hmy w---*
‘*sʿmwh* daughter of *sʿmr* priestess of Wadd and *zyd* her husband of the lineage of *yfʿn* performed (du) the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt* at the sanctuary so may he favor **them both** and aid **them both** and...’

6.9.3 Reflexive pronoun

There is one attestation of the use of the word *nfsʿ* with a suffixed personal pronoun as a reflexive pronoun.

U 021 *ʿf/bn/ʿ{y}dh//zll/h-zll/ndr//b dʿd{t}ʿ-h/w nfsʿ//h/f rd-h/w ʿtb//h/w sʿ d-h/w ʿtb-h*
‘*f* son of *{y}dh* performed the *zll* ceremony vowed on behalf of his crops of the season of the alter rains and **himself** so may he favor him and reward him and aid him and reward him’

6.10 Prepositions

The Dadanic prepositions have received extensive treatment in an article by Johan Lundberg (2015). I generally agree with his interpretation, only *ldy* merits further discussion.

²⁴⁶ Translation following Lundberg (2015, 135).

6.10.1 *ldy*

While the interpretation of *ldy* as benefactive with the translation ‘on account of’ (Lundberg 2015, 135) works well with the rest of the inscription, its meaning in this inscription could also be related to its CAR. equivalent *laday*, *ladā* ‘with’ (*Lisān*, 4023), possibly from Aram. *l-yd* ‘under control of, next to’ (CAL, 19-2-2018).

JSLih 077 *whblh/bn/zdqny/wlmy/bn/nfyh/wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h}/'hd/l-hmy/hrg/w h-dt'/ldy/d//t'/hmm/b-d'f'*
 ‘*whblh* son of *zdaqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* erected the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* (according to) that which was taken out on them as a loan and (which also included) the crops of the season of the later rains (**together**) **with** the decreed offering of the crops of the season of the later rains at *d'f'*’

Table 49 Attested prepositions

<i>'ly/l</i>	locative	on
	benefactive	for the sake of (Lundberg 2015, 125)
<i>b'd</i>	benefactive	for the sake of (Lundberg 2015, 127)
<i>l-</i>	direct object	to
	benefactive	for
	possession	of
	possible temporal duration	for/during (Lundberg 2015, 128)
<i>b-</i>	locative (both spatial and temporal)	in/at
	instrumental phrases	by
	indicating authorship	by (Lundberg 2015, 129)
<i>qbl</i>	temporal	before (Lundberg 2015, 131)
<i>hlf</i>	temporal	after (Lundberg 2015, 132)
<i>m^c</i>	comitative	with (Lundberg 2015, 132)
<i>mn</i>	origin of source or partitive	from or of
	manner	according to (Lundberg 2015, 133);
	reason	because
	adversative	from (Lundberg 2015, 134)
<i>'dky</i>	terminative	until, as far as (Lundberg 2015, 135)
<i>ldy</i>	benefactive	on account of (Lundberg 2015, 135)

6.11 Numerals

Only cardinal numbers are attested in Dadanitic. The numerals one through ten have both a masculine and a feminine form. Since there is only a very small range of nouns that occur with numerals it is difficult to say whether they conform to the Arabic system of crossed gender agreement. Based on the consistent occurrence of *ym* with numerals without the suffix *-t*, similar to Safaitic, it has been concluded that *ym* ‘day’ must be a feminine noun in Safaitic and Dadanitic (Macdonald 2008, 212).²⁴⁷

In the numerals 13-19 the ten does not seem to inflect for gender, compare *s¹nt/s¹t/s²r----* ‘year sixteen’ (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII) and *s¹tt/s²r/m//n/s¹nt/mt/l//h* ‘sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her’ (AH 064).

The numerals above ten are usually formed by placing the teen first,²⁴⁸ followed by the conjunction *w-* and the digit, which is the opposite from the order in CAR. (Caskel 1954, 71; Sima 1999, 119). The decades are formed with the masculine plural suffix *-n*, similar to Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic (Huehnergard 2005, 182–83).²⁴⁹

The numerals are generally placed before the noun they are counting. However, most of them occur with the noun *s¹nt* ‘year’ in a specific construction in which the number follows the noun *s¹nt X* ‘year X’.

Below follows a short discussion of some numerals that merit closer attention.

Table 50 Attested numerals

	Masculine	Feminine	Common
1	<i>s¹nt/ħdy</i> ‘year one’ (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLV; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLVI; Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLVII; and probably JaL 002 but in broken context) <i>ħd-hm</i> ‘one of them’ (JaL 001)		
2	<i>s¹nt/ttn</i> ‘year two’ (JSLih 045)		

²⁴⁷ Macdonald (pc.) adds to this that since *ym* is an inanimate plural it is expected it would be treated as a feminine singular form (which would agree with a numeral below ten with no suffix), this does not mean that *ym* is a feminine noun too. While this works for *ym*, the plural form *zlt* agrees with the numeral *tltt*.

²⁴⁸ There are two examples in which the digit precedes the teen (see § 6.11.4.2 Teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation).

²⁴⁹ Huehnergard concluded that this form of the tens is a Central Semitic innovation (Huehnergard 2005, 182–84), based on this and several other features of Dadanitic Ahmad Al-Jallad argues that Dadanitic is a sister language of Arabic rather than a direct ancestor of Proto-Arabic (Al-Jallad 2018, 21–24) (see § 1.6.3 Language).

3 *s¹nt/tlt* III²⁵⁰ ‘year three’ *tltt/ʒl/t* ‘three ʒll ceremonies’
 (AH 239; Al-Sa‘īd (U 032)
 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3)
 251

l-tlt/s¹nn ‘for three
 years’ (JSLih 071)²⁵²

3 t- *tlt/ym* ‘three days’
 base (JSLih 068)

5 *s¹nt/hms¹* ‘year five’(AH
 219; JSLih 072; JSLih
 075; AH 013)

6 *s¹nt s¹t* ‘year six’ (AH
 222)

7 *s¹b/ym/qb/l/r’y/d’s¹l’n*
 ‘seven days before the
 r’y of d’s¹l’n’ (AH 244)

10 *s²r/ym* ‘ten days’ (JSLih *s²rt/mnh{h}* ‘ten Minah’
 070) (JSLih 177)

12 *s¹nt//s²r/w {t}tn* ‘in year
 12’(AH 081)

13 *s¹nt/s²r/w tlt/13* ‘year
 thirteen’ (AH 197)

16 *s¹nt/s¹t/s²r ----* ‘year *s¹tt/s²r/m//n/s¹nt/mt/’l-*
 sixteen’(Nasif 1988: 99, //h ‘sixteen [times] according
 pl. CLVII)²⁵³ to the custom of the land
 [placed] upon her’ (AH 064)

17 */s¹nt/{s²}/r/w s¹b^c* ‘year
 seventeen ‘ (U 008)

19 *[s¹][n]{t}/s²r/w ts¹^c*
 ‘{year} nineteen’ (Al-
 Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 3–14,
 no. 1)

²⁵⁰ The numeral is indicated by three vertical lines between two short diagonal lines placed above each other on either side.

²⁵¹ The word *tlt* ‘three’ occurs in broken context.

²⁵² The inscription is marked as Arabic language in Dadanitic script in OCIANA (accessed 4/3/17).

²⁵³ The number is transcribed as *s¹t/w s²r* in OCIANA, but the photograph shows that there is no complementizer *w-* before the ten. This was already noted by Sima (1999, 199).

20	<i>s'nt/s²rn</i> 'year twenty'(AH 063)	
22	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w ttn</i> 'year twenty two' (AH 244)	
24	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w 'r[b][']</i> ---- 'year twenty {four}' (AH 204; AH 226)	
25	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w h[m][s¹]</i> 'year twenty {five}' (AH 206)	
28	<i>/s¹//nt/s²rn/<w>tmn{y}</i> 'year twenty eight' (JSLih 068)	
29	<i>s'nt/s²r/n/w ts¹</i> 'year twenty nine'(JSLih 070; JSLih 083)	
30		<i>s'nt/tltn</i> (AHUD 1)
35	<i>s¹n[t]/tltn/w hm/s¹</i> 35 'year thirty five 35' (JSLih 082)	
40		<i>b- 'rb n{/s¹} t-----</i> 'with forty drachmas' ²⁵⁴ (JSLih 177)
41	<i>/s'nt/'rb'n/w '<h>d// y</i> 'year forty one ' (AH 202)	
42	<i>s'nt/'r{b}// 'n/w ttn</i> 'year forty two'(Al-Ḥuraybah 10)	
45	---- <i>['] [r] [b] ['] [n] [w]</i> <i>hms¹</i> 45 ---- '[forty] five 45' (AH 225)	
60		<i>[s¹]nt/s¹tn</i> ---- 'year sixty' (Müller, D.H. 1889: 77–78, no. 28)

²⁵⁴ Translation following (Macdonald 2008, 213).

6.11.1 One

The Dadanitic numeral one has the morphological form of a feminine elative/’*vḥday/* (compare CAR. إحدى *’iḥdā*). There is one attestation where the numeral is followed by a suffixed pronoun, in which the glide is not represented.

JaL 001 *----bndw/’ḥd-hm/bs’l`t----*
 ‘... one of them with coins...’

6.11.2 Two

As already carefully discussed in Macdonald (2008), the form *ṭtn* ‘two’ is probably an assimilated form of **ṭintān*, with the regular assimilation of *n* to following consonants in Dadanitic (cf. § 4.6.1 *n*-assimilation). Note that this form does not have a prosthetic vowel (compare CAR. *ṭintān* and *’iṭnatāni*) (Macdonald 2008, 213).²⁵⁶

6.11.3 Eight

The numeral eight is only attested once in the compound number twenty eight *’s²rn/<w>tmny*²⁵⁷ (JSLih 068). If this reading is correct, this numeral underwent the sound change *ṭ > t*, similar to some forms of the numeral three (see § 6.11.4.1 Three below). In the numeral eight, however, it cannot be explained as dissimilation. While we have other isolated examples of etymological interdentalals being written with stops,²⁵⁸ this does not seem to have been common in Dadanitic. Since we only have one example of *tmny* it is impossible to tell whether this spelling is an anomaly or not.

6.11.4 Variation

6.11.4.1 Three

The numeral three is attested with two variant bases: twice as *ṭṭ* (U 032; JELih 071) and once as *ṭlt* (JSLih 068);.²⁵⁹ The example of *ṭlt* occurs with *’ym* ‘days’, which otherwise occurs with numerals in their short form (JSLih 070; AH 244), therefore it is unlikely that the stop at the end of the word is the result of assimilation to the *-t* suffix (Macdonald 2008, 212). It might have become a stop due to

²⁵⁵ As already noted by (Macdonald 2008, 213) the first and last words of the line are almost invisible in the photograph and left off by Abū al-Ḥasan.

²⁵⁶ Macdonald also points out the form *ṭintēn* in modern dialects of central and eastern Arabia (Macdonald 2008, 213).

²⁵⁷ In the OCIANA database the final *y* is indicated as difficult to read. This is true on the photograph of the squeeze taken by Jaussen and Savignac (1909), but the more recent photograph of the rock provided in the database, the final *y* is clearly visible (accessed 4/7/2017)..

²⁵⁸ Possibly *ṭlt* for *ṭṭ* (JSLih 047) (see 6.11.4 Variation, 6.11.4.1 Three below), *nṭr* for *nṣr* (e.g. AH 313) and *ṭll* for *ṣll* (AH 009.1) (see § 4.6.3 *ṣ > ṭ*).

²⁵⁹ OCIANA reads *ṭṭ*, but the copy and the photograph both clearly show *ṭlt*.

dissimilation from the first interdental (compare Sab. s^2ms^1 and CAR. $\check{s}ams$ ‘sun’ < $*s^2ms^2$ (Kogan 2011, 193)).

$\underline{t}l\underline{t}/z\underline{l}/t$ ‘three zll ceremonies’ (U 032)

$s^1nt/\underline{t}l\underline{t}$ III²⁶⁰ ‘year three 3’ (AH 239; Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3)

$l-\underline{t}l\underline{t}/s^1nn$ ‘for three years’ (JSLih 071)

$\underline{t}l\underline{t}/ym$ ‘three days’ (JSLih 068)

Note that the glyphs for t and \underline{t} are quite similar in shape. They both have an x-shaped base. The \underline{t} is generally slightly smaller and sits on top of a vertical line $\check{\text{X}}$, while the t is simply a X . Given the similar basic shape they may be difficult to keep apart in the photographs. The t in JSLih 068 is curiously ligatured to both the l preceding it and the following word divider. Due to the angle of the photograph it is difficult to see whether there is a vertical line in the middle of the glyph, or whether it is a line that was part of the rock itself (in grey on the trace) but comparing the size of the x-shape in the \underline{t} and the last letter of the word, it seems that it should be read as a t . Jaussen and Savignac do not consider the line under discussion as part of the letter in their trace (Jaussen and Savignac 1909, pl. LXXXIV).



Figure 17 Trace of the word $\underline{t}l\underline{t}$ in JSLih 068

In addition to these forms a third form $tl\underline{t}$ has also been suggested to exist (JSLih 047) (Macdonald 2000, 212–13).

JSLih 047 [----]// m ---- nw // $\underline{t}l\underline{t}/m^{\prime}n/mn/d$ ----// $ft/b-$ ’ $rb^{\prime}n/w$ ----// $lmn/h-mr^{\prime}$ ----
‘... **three** (?) sanctuaries of/from... with forty and... the lord’²⁶¹

This form is found in a damaged text. From the photograph of the inscription, it is not quite clear whether $tl\underline{t}$ is a continuation of the last word of the previous line or not. If it is indeed a numeral ‘three’, it specifies the number of $m^{\prime}n$. This word is attested in JSLih 072 as a singular noun with the meaning ‘sanctuary’ (Lundberg 2015, n. 37). The form $m^{\prime}n$, in JSLih 047, would then have to be a broken plural. If $tl\underline{t}$ really does represent $*\underline{t}l\underline{t}$, the replacement of the interdentals with stops may be compared to the examples in which $z > t$ (see § 4.6.3 $z > t$).

²⁶⁰ See note 36.

²⁶¹ The translation largely follows OCIANA (accessed 4/7/2017), except for $^{\prime}rb^{\prime}n$. OCIANA takes this as ‘sanctuary’, probably based on the preceding preposition $b-$ which is taken as a locative. I do not see any reason to translate the form as anything different than forty, however, which occurs several times in the exact same form in the corpus (JSLih 177; AH 202; Al-Ḥuraybah 10; AH 225). The preposition should then be translated as ‘with’ or ‘by’. The following $w-$ could be followed by a digit.

6.11.4.2 Teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation

Both teen-and-digit and digit-teen forms of the numerals are attested in Dadanitic (Sima 1999, 119). The teen-and-digit forms are by far the most common, with only two examples of digit first forms (AH 064 and Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII). According to Hetzron (1977), the teen-and-digit forms are the more archaic. Even though there are only two examples of the digit-teen form in Dadanitic, in one of them it occurs in a dating formula, which is the most common environment for numerals to occur in Dadanitic.

Table 51 Occurrences of teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation

Digit-teen	Teen-and digit
12	$s^1nt//s^2r/w \{t\}tn$ ‘in year 12’(AH 081)
13	$s^1nt/s^2r/w \underline{t}t/13$ ‘year thirteen’ (AH 197)
16	$s^1tt/s^2r/m//n/s^1nt/mt/^l-//h$ ‘sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her’ (AH 064) $s^1nt/s^1t/s^2r$ --- ²⁶² - ‘year sixteen’(Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII)
17	$/s^1nt/{s^2}/r/w s^1b$ ‘year seventeen ‘ (U 008)
19	$s^1][n]{t}/s^2r/w ts^1$ ‘{year} nineteen’ (Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1)
22	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w \underline{t}tn$ ‘year twenty two’ (AH 244)
24	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w ^r[b][^]$ ---- ‘year twenty {four}’ (AH 204; AH 226)
25	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w h[m][s^1]$ ‘year twenty {five}’ (AH 206)
28	$/\{s^1\}/nt/s^2rn/<w>tmn\{y\}$ ‘year twenty eight’ (JSLih 068)
29	$s^1nt/s^2r/n/w ts^1$ ‘year twenty nine’(JSLih 070; JSLih 083)

6.12 Adverbs

6.12.1 Locative *b-dh*

There is one attestation of the compound adverb *b-dh* ‘here’ (Macdonald 2008, 200) in a graffito.

²⁶² See note 253 for the reading of the inscription.

JSLih 279 *mrh ktb-h/b-dh*
'*mrh* wrote it here'

6.12.2 Temporal adverbs

6.12.2.1 *dm*

The interpretation of *w-dm* at the end of JSLih 306 is not entirely certain. It is the only example of this adverb, and it is taken to mean 'forever' here. Compare, CAr. *dāma* 'to persist, to continue' (Lane, 935c) and *dā'im* 'continuing, lasting, remaining, everlasting' (Lane, 937c).

JSLih 306 *brk{t}ḡt {d-}thyw//ḥd h-mqbr {d}[h] w dm*
'*brk{t}ḡt* {of the lineage of} *thyw* took possession of this tomb forever'

6.12.2.2 *hld*

The adverb *hld* occurs twice in two related inscriptions with uncertain meaning. For the meaning of *hld*, compare CAr. *ḥalada* 'he remained, stayed' (Lane, 783c).

JSLih 070: 1–4 *ḥls/zdḥrg/bn//bl/hld/s'nt/'s²r//n/w ts¹/'s²r/'ym//ḥlf/fdg/*
'*zdḥrg* son of *bl* was released forever, year twenty nine, ten days after [the setting of? the asterism] *fdg*'

JSLih 068 *ḥls¹ ltb/b{n}//s¹d/hld/{s¹}//nt/'s²rn/<w> tmn{y}//tlt/'ym/qbl//r'y/s¹lḥn*
'*ltb* son of *s¹d* was released for ever year twenty{eight}, three days before the rising of the asterism *slḥn*'

6.13 Particles

6.13.1 'n

Particle 'n / 'in/ can be used to introduce the protasis of a conditional clause. The phrase *f-'n* can be compared to CAr. *fa-'inna*.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *----[m]n/s¹rq/f-'n/yṣbr/b-mh/{s¹r}[q]---- //----{d}n/thd-h/kll-h/f-ḥtm*
'who stole **and if** he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat [him](?) ...'

6.13.2 Asseverative

The asseverative *wl* /*walā*/ 'verily, already' is attested twice. The asseverative *l* is found in all branches of Semitic to assert the truth or certainty of a statement. The Dadanitic form is augmented with the conjunction *w-*. In other Semitic languages, the asseverative is usually not used independently. But compare Sabaic where both proclitic and independent spellings are attested: *w-l yknn h*' (Fa 30) 'and may it be' and *w-l-yknn 'ln 's¹dn w-'ntn* (Fa 3) 'and may these men and women be'.²⁶³

JSLih 313 *l-lbh/w z'//nh/w bnt-h/h-ṭrt//dt/wl/wrt-hm*²⁶⁴
'for *lbh* and *z'nh* and his daughter [is] this valley and verily [it is] their inheritance'

²⁶³ DASI, 8–2–2018.

²⁶⁴ OCIANA reads *ḡnth*, which is interpreted as a personal name, instead of *bnt-h* (accessed 13–8–2018).

JSLih 077: 6-7 *wl/hmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/s{l}mn//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/hmm*
 ‘and verily (or he has already) offered at his (ḏḡbt?) temple a statue and he has offered two burnt offerings (?) for security on the walls of (a?) cave’

6.13.3 Quantifier

Quantifier *kll* ‘all, all of it’ occurs in Dadanic in legal and votive contexts to indicate possession or dedication of the totality of a certain object. It is related to CAR. *kull* ‘totality, entirety, everyone, each one, whole, entire, all’ (Lane, 978a), but the spelling with both *l*’s represented indicates that it was probably pronounced differently, as in other ANA corpora such as Safaitic. Al-Jallad draws a comparison between the Safaitic form and Ugaritic /kalīlu/, and suggests a similar pronunciation /kalil/ for Safaitic (Al-Jallad 2015, 89).

JaL 161 a *l-s² ‘t///l’l/k ‘mn h-mq ‘d k//ll -h/f ‘rr//ḏḡbt/‘r//r/h- s¹fr/dh*
 ‘to the party of ‘l’l k ‘mn the seat,²⁶⁵ **all of it** and may *ḏḡbt* dishonor whoever mistreats this inscription’

JSLih 072: 4-7 *ḥḏw/h-mkn//w h-mq ‘d/dh/kll-h/mn/m //n/h-gbl/hn ‘ly/‘dky//m {n}/h-gbl/hn ‘s¹{l}l*
 ‘they took the place and the sitting place **all of it** from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border’

U 010 *‘bd’tbl/bn/zdḥmm//ṭwbṭ/nḏr/h-zll/l-ḏḡbt//b-khl/b ‘d/ml-h/b-ṭr/f rḏ-h//w s¹ ‘d-h/w ḥrt-h//kll-h*
 ‘*bd’tbl* son of *zdḥmm ṭwbṭ* vowed the *zll* to *ḏḡbt* at *khl* on behalf of his property at *ṭr* so may he favor him and aid him and his posterity, **all of it**’

6.14 Conjunctions

6.14.1 Coordinating conjunctions

The two coordinating conjunctions attested in Dadanic are *w-* and *f-*.

6.14.1.1 *w-*

Conjunction *w-* functions roughly as English ‘and’. It is used to combine two equivalent parts of a sentence, which can range from words to complete sentences.

AH 081: 1-3 *‘yḏh/w ‘mth{n}’ktb/bnt/qn//y/w ‘m -hm/s²n ‘h/w b ‘lhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t] - h/’mtyṭ ‘n/’zlw/*
 ‘*yḏh* **and** ‘*mth{n}*’*ktb* daughter of *qny* **and** their mother *s²n ‘h* **and** *b ‘lhzd* *bm---* *h* **and** his/her daughter ‘*mtyṭ ‘n* performed the *zll*’

U 038: 3-4 *f rḏ-h/w ‘hr[t]-h//w ‘ṭb-h*
 ‘so may he favor him **and** his posterity **and** reward him’

U 058: 1-5 *‘yḏ/bn/yḏ ‘// ‘zll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-ḏḡ//bt/b ‘d/{n}hl-h//w dt’-h b-bdr*
 ‘*yḏ* son of *yḏ* performed the *zll* ceremony at *khl* for *ḏḡbt* on behalf of their palm trees **and** their crops of the season of the later rains at *bdr*’

²⁶⁵ Possibly compare to Nabataean inscriptions mentioning the dedication of a bed or ritual couch *rb ‘t*, which Nehmé suggests comes from the root √RBD (Nehmé 2003, 24). A similar form *rb ‘y* was discovered in a Nabataean inscription from the Moab plateau (al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017, 3–4).

6.14.1.2 *f-*

The conjunction *f-* is most commonly used to begin the blessing formula and to start a curse at the end of a dedicatory inscription. Due to its almost exclusive and static use as part of these formulae Sima concludes that its use is “*erstart*” and unproductive (1999, 112). Within this templatic use, a causal or temporal relationship between the two parts ‘so, then’, similar to the use of *f-* in CAr, can still be recognized.

U 058 *ʿyḏ/bn/yḏʿ//zll/h-zll//{b-} khl/l-ḏḡ//bt/bʿd/{n}hl-h//w ḏtʿ-h b-bdr//f r{ḏ}-h w ḥrt-h*
‘*ʿyḏ* son of *yḏʿ* performed the *zll* ceremony at *khl* for *ḏḡbt* on behalf of their palm trees and their crops of the season of the later rains at *bdr* **so** {may he favor} him and his posterity’

JSLih 006 *ʿmrtm/w ḥrm w nn//w ḏrh/w gzʿt//w ʿnʿm/w ʿbd//ddt/hggn//f sʿmʿ/l-h{m}*
‘*mrtm* and *ḥrm* and *nn* and *ḏrh* and *gzʿt* and *ʿnʿm* and *bddt* are pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage **so** may he listen to {them}’

6.14.2 Subordinating conjunction *ʿdh*

The form *ʿdh* occurs in two different inscriptions (JSLih 055 and JSLih 069) probably with the meaning ‘if/when’. Compare e.g. Ug. *ʿd* ‘when, as soon as’ (Tropper 2000, 796) and CAr. *ʿidā* ‘when’. While the attested forms look like the Arabic *ʿidā*, the context does not allow defining its function in Dadanitic.

JSLih 055 *----y wkl/h{ḡ}ʿsʿnʿ/fkl/hktby ----//----h/bn/hrmh/ʿdh/ḥrb-hm ----//----tlh/b-mṭb/b-
{t}ʿn/ṣd/d----*
‘...*wkl h{ḡ}ʿsʿn* priest of *h-ktby*... son of PN **if/when** he waged war on them.... at a throne(?) during the setting of the asterism *ṣd*...’

JSLih 069 *wsʿqt//ʿmm ʿdh//nwl/ʿl mg//--h*
‘??? ??? **when** he offered on behalf of his expulsion/grain’

Since it occurs in broken context in JSLih 055 and in badly understood context in JSLih 069, it is not entirely clear whether it represents a conjunction or an adverb.

6.14.3 Disjunctive conjunction *ʿw*

Both examples of *ʿw* occur in broken context, but the meaning seems clear on comparative grounds. Compare Ug. *ʿu* (< **ʿaw*) ‘or’ (Tropper 2000, 792); CAr. *ʿaw* ‘or’ (Fischer 2001, 177).

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *---h-sʿrqt/yṭb/h- sʿrqt/ʿw/y ----*
(line 6) ‘the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief **or** ...’

JaL 001 *---hm/l-bn-h/ʿw/bnt ----*
(line 2) ‘... for his son **or** daughter’

6.14.4 Complementizer *ʿn*

Complementizer *ʿn* is attested once in Dadanitic. The construction *ʿn ykn* in AH 203 is related to CAr. *ʿan yafʿala* ‘that he may do’ (Al-Jallad 2018, 24).

AH 203 [----] //hm----[d]//g̃bt/’{n}/yk{n} //l-h/{w}ld/f rdy[-h] ---- //w ’hrt-h {d}----
 ‘...[d]g̃bt that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity...’²⁶⁶

6.14.5 Presentative ’ny

The presentative ’ny can be compared to Ug. *hny*, Heb. *hinneh* and CAr. *’inna*.²⁶⁷ It is used to initiate a new clause.²⁶⁸

U 026 ’b ’l/dl/’fyh/h- zll/l- d̃g̃bt/<f> rd -hm/w s’/’d -hm/w ’qb-hm[/]’ny//ys’rg[/]’b -hm/w
 {m} ’n -h[m]//w {m}fr -h{m}/b- ms²hl
 ‘The lords of *dl* fulfilled (du) the *zll* for *d̃g̃bt* so may he favor them (pl.) and aid them and their posterity **that** their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at *ms²hl*’²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ The stone looks like it was prepared and cut into a block. While *rdy[-h]* looks like it was squeezed onto the surface to fit the block, and the *h* might be lost under the damage of the edge of the stone, there seems to be an empty space following *ykn* in the line before it, suggesting that it is complete.

²⁶⁷ This was suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad, see commentary on U 026 in OCIANA.

²⁶⁸ Interpretation following OCIANA, 19–2–2019.

²⁶⁹ Translation following OCIANA.